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openly assures us that the American Government "is giving of its influence and of its power for the protection of human rights and of human interests everywhere in the world." Interpreted in terms of the concrete, the United States is evidently doing everything in its power to assist in the solution of the problem of reparations. The food shortage threatening the people of Germany with famine demands action. That nation with 65,000,000 inhabitants has enough food for only 45,000,000. Charity cannot suffice. Remedial action is imperative. Evidently the United States is bent upon achieving remedial action

FOREIGN POLICIES IN THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE

NOT INCLUDING Canada, there are twenty-one republics in the Western Hemisphere. Naturally, almost every conceivable international problem arises sooner or later between some members of this group.

Uruguay recently proposed that there should be an American League of Nations. The proposal was referred to a special committee consisting of Secretary Hughes, Ambassador Mathieu of Chile, Ambassador Alencar of Brazil, Minister Elizalde of Ecuador, and Minister Chamorro of Nicaragua. This committee has issued a report calling for the consideration, at the Fifth Pan American Congress at Santiago, Chile, next March, "of measures tending toward a closer association of the republics of the American continent with a view to promoting common interests."

This Chilean Congress is evidently to be a clearing-house of foreign policies of the Western Hemisphere. There is no doubt of its importance. The United States, Mexico, Cuba, the five Central American republics, the thirteen other Latin American republics, are all planning to be represented. Even Canada may be there.

Uruguay has proposed for discussion at the Congress the principle of obligatory arbitration between States of this hemisphere. The committee in charge has amended the proposal to provide for the "Consideration of the best means to give wider application to the principle of the judicial or arbitral settlement of disputes between the republics of the American Continent."

Other policies to be discussed, printed elsewhere in these columns, are equally interesting. The Congress will give consideration to "questions arising out of an encroachment by a non-American power on the rights of an American nation." There will be discussion of the best means "to promote the arbitration of commercial disputes between nationals of different countries"; "of the rights of aliens resident within the jurisdiction

of any of the American republics," and "of the status of children of foreigners; of the improvement of ocean, land, and air communication; of co-operation with respect to supervision of merchandise entering into international commerce; of uniformity in parcel-post procedure; of the simplification of passports; of co-operation in the study of agricultural problems; of standardization of university curricula; of the mutual recognition of the validity of professional degrees among American republics; of the progressive diminution in the consumption of alcoholic beverages."

But "the reduction and limitation of military and naval expenditures on some just and practicable basis" may become the outstanding subject for discussion, for the Governing Board of the Pan American Union, which is responsible for the program of the congress, has decided that this subject shall also be discussed.

Evidently, the reduction of expenditures for war is an American aspiration. It was attempted at the Washington Conference with success. The reduction of such expenditures is on the program of the Central American Conference now being held in Washington. It is upon the unanimous decision of the Governing Board of the Pan American Union that the matter is to be brought up at Santiago. Whether or not it will be found possible to reduce and limit the land forces "upon some just and practicable basis" remains to be seen. But in the meantime it is reported that Brazil has proposed a disarmament conference of Brazil, Argentine, and Chile as a preliminary to the Congress at Santiago. This may not be held, but the thing is in the air.

Thus the program arrests attention. The Governing Board of the Pan American Union, composed of the ambassadors and ministers in Washington representing the nations of the Western Hemisphere—Secretary Hughes, *ex-officio* chairman of the board—has been working upon it for nearly a year.

This visible evidence of an enlightened self-interest working its way with no hint of compulsion, free of attempt to set up any artificial league, is an illustration of how nations work together when at their best. The meaning of it is of importance not only to America, but to other groups of contiguous nations. This Pan American co-operative effort demonstrates that it is possible for nations to adjust together their social, economic, and other non-political problems. It proves that where such problems are met and solved, no political questions arise to threaten war. America has what Alfred H. Fried pleaded for, a *Zweckverband*—a co-operative union—working and evolving, quietly but effectively. There are here no questions of independence involved, of political federation, of representation, of large and small States, of a superstate, of an international police.

It would seem to be a fact that the Western Hemisphere has come nearer to ending the curse of war between States than has Europe or Asia. This is due in no small measure to the application of the principle of conference to the practical problems of international life. Out of conferences in the past these States have built railways, improved navigation, readjusted tariffs, defined harbor rights, established consular practice, adjusted problems arising out of coinage, weights, and measures, sanitation, alien and extradition laws, arbitration and international law. This Pan American movement has expressed itself in terms of exchange professors, travel and friendly intercourse, expositions, and museums of commerce. In his book, "The Restoration of Europe," published in 1916, Dr. Fried says:

"It will occasion no surprise that Pan-Americanism, despite its purely economic and social program, has reacted upon political life as well. Years of peaceful co-operation between nations and their representatives strengthen confidence, engender a habit of mind which does not presuppose hostile intentions in one's neighbors, and in critical issues re-enforces the determination to let rational considerations decide. Arbitration and mediation have reached their highest development on the American continents. The peaceful co-operative union expedites peaceful settlements of such disputes as inevitably arise.

"Pan-Americanism is not only a model for Europe; it is a warning as well. Before the war there was much talk of the *American menace*, by which was meant economic competition. It exists; but in a different form. A continent so organized will only too easily win precedence over divided Europe. If that disorganization which has led to war should continue after the war, the danger of the associated States of Pan-America outstripping Europe will be far greater. The war has changed the relative position of Europe and America, and not to the advantage of Europe. Europe will lag behind America because of its disorganization and also because of its exhaustion. Hence a co-operative union must be formed, that a united Europe may meet that united continent across the ocean—not for attack, but to make further co-operation possible."

Referring to the Third International Conference of American States, President Roosevelt said, in his message of December 3, 1906:

"Quite apart from the specific value of the conclusions reached by the conference, the example of the representatives of all the American nations engaging in harmonious and kindly consideration and discussion of subjects of common interest is itself of great and substantial value for the promotion of reasonable and considerate treatment of all international questions."

In the same message Mr. Roosevelt quoted from an address by Mr. Elihu Root, then Secretary of State, who had said at the Conference in Rio Janeiro:

"We wish for no victories but those of peace; for no territory except our own; for no sovereignty except the sovereignty over ourselves. We deem the independence and equal rights of the smallest and weakest member of the family of nations entitled to as much respect as those of the greatest empire, and we deem the observance of that respect the chief guaranty of the weak against the oppression of the strong. We neither claim nor desire any rights or privileges or powers that we do not freely concede to every American republic."

Another conspicuous utterance, particularly apposite, was that of another Secretary of State, Mr. Charles Evans Hughes, who, speaking in Rio Janeiro, September 8, said:

"The people of the United States and the people of Brazil are alike devoted to the ideals of peace. But peace has its method as well as war. The method of peace is that of more perfect knowledge and understanding; of mutual respect for rights with the correlative recognition of obligations; of resort in all difficulties to the process of reason; of summoning all the ability and strength of the country in the interest of peace with the sincere and intense desire to find amicable solutions instead of causes for distrust and enmity. It is the disposition to peace that alone can assure peace."

The Conference in Santiago next March will not only affect international policies within the Western Hemisphere; it will be of interest to the statesmen of Europe and of the Far East. It will be in line with a statesmanship of no little merit.

THE MENACE OF AMERICANISM

WE IN AMERICA are not in the habit of considering Americanism a world menace, yet there is a book just issued from the Labor Publishing Company, London, written by Mr. W. T. Colyer, entitled just that, "*Americanism, a World Menace*." The author develops the thesis that Europe and other civilized peoples must choose between Americanism and Bolshevism; that there is no third choice. He goes still further. He would persuade the civilized nations to choose Russia as the lesser of the two evils because of the dangers in the curse of Americanism.

The book cannot be dismissed as the vaporings of a crank. The man writes with terseness and clarity, indeed with no little power.

The author has no use for American institutions, customs, habits, or standards, notwithstanding the fact that he has lived as an engineer for several years in the United States, particularly in Massachusetts.

Coming to specific matters, he complains that we standardize human beings, and that our standards are decidedly below those held by civilized peoples else-